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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 EB-08 OMB-01
TRSE-00 AID-05 SSM-03 SES-02 HA-05 ACDA-12 /156 W
----------119982 071218Z /42
R 070801Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7518
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SEOUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5742

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG
SUBJ: YUGOSLAV ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS
GOLOB ON NAM CONFERENCE

1. SUMMARY: ON AUGUST 4 AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS IGNAC GOLOB, WHO HAS JUST REPLACED MILJAN KOMATINA, TO DISCUSS THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. GOLOB PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING OVERVIEW, THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS OF WHICH ARE:

--THE CONFLICT WITH THE CUBANS OVER IDEOLOGY AND DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT WAS QUALITATIVELY MORE SEVERE AT BELGRADE THAN EVER BEFORE.

--YUGOSLAVIA IS BASICALLY SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME - "UNITY
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WAS PRESERVED."

--HOWEVER, NOT EVERYTHING CAME OUT YUGOSLAVIA'S WAY, AND THE DEBATE ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES WILL CONTINUE BETWEEN NOW AND HAVANA AND NO DOUBT AT HAVANA AND BEYOND.

--YUGOSLAVIA BELIEVES THERE SHOULD BE A STRONG TURNOUT IN

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HAVANA, IN ORDER TO CONTINUE TO MEET THE CUBAN CHALLENGE HEAD ON.

--HOW MUCH TROUBLE YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHER "CONSTRUCTIVISTS" CONTINUE TO HAVE WITH CUBA AND THE RADICALS WILL DEPEND VERY MUCH ON PROGRESS IN RESOLVING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES OF INTEREST TO THE NAM.

--THE MODERATES WERE "MORE ACTIVE" AT BELGRADE THAN IN THE PAST, BUT "COULD DO MORE."

--THE DEBATE OVER LANGUAGE ON INTERVENTION CONCERNED THE YUGOSLAVS LEST TERMINOLOGY EVOKING BREZHNEV DOCTRINE CREEP IN, SO THE ISSUE WAS DROPPED.

--YUGOSLAVIA RECOGNIZES US IRRITATION WITH LANGUAGE OVER ME, PUERTO RICO, ETC., BUT DENIES DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY; IN REGIONAL DRAFTING GROUPS, "WHERE WERE YOUR FRIENDS?"

--US PLEASE NOTE "NOT SO SHARP" LANGUAGE ON KOREA.

--AN AD HOC COMMITTEE WILL CONVENE IN NY TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF "DEMOCRATIZING" THE COORDINATING BUREAU AND OTHER ISSUES UNRESOLVED AT BELGRADE.

END SUMMARY.

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2. FOR YUGOSLAVIA THIS NAM MEETING HAD COME AT THE RIGHT PLACE AND AT THE RIGHT TIME, GOLOB SAID. ONE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT IN THE RELATIVELY SHORT TIME SINCE COLOMBO MUCH HAS HAPPENED IN THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD, WITH NEGATIVE FACTORS OUT-WEIGHING THE POSITIVE.

3. GOLOB SAID IN BELGRADE THERE WAS "A TENDENCY -- NO, NOT A TENDENCY, BUT A WELL-DEFINED ACTION -- TO DIVIDE THE MOVEMENT ON THE BASIS OF IDEOLOGY." THE QUESTION OF "PURITY" WAS RAISED. THERE WAS AN ATTEMPT TO DIFINE PROGRESSIVENESS, AND THERE WAS PRESSURE TO TIE THE MOVEMENT TO THE SOVIET BLOC. THIS PRESSURE IS AIDED BY THE UNRESOLVED SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND A SENSE THAT ON ECONOMIC ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE NON-ALIGNED "NOTHING IS HAPPENING." NONETHELESS, THE BELGRADE NAM CONFERENCE ACTED IN A "SENSIBLE, MATURE FASHION." WHERE INDIVIDUAL DISPUTES BETWEEN MEMBER STATES WERE CONCERNED NO STATE WISHED TO CARRY ITS POSITION TO THE POINT OF POLARIZING THE MOVEMENT.

4. YUGOSLAVIA DOES NOT DISPUTE THAT AGREEMENT WAS NOT REACHED ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF INTERVENTION, GOLOB SAID. THERE WAS LANGUAGE IN MANY PARTS OF THE FINAL DECLARATION STRONGER THAN

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YUGOSLAVIA WISHED. IN SUMMING UP, GOLOB SAID "I BELIEVE ALL THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR US TO DO WAS DONE. AND UNITY WAS PRESERVED. AT THIS CONFERENCE, AS AT MANY CONFERENCES, WE AGREED ON WHAT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO AGREE UPON."

5. AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER ASKED HOW THE LANGUAGE ON INTER-VENTION HAD FINALLY BEEN RESOLVED. GOLOG RESPONDED THAT THE ISSUE, WHO HAS A RIGHT TO CALL FOR AID, AND UNDER WHAT TERMS, WAS FINESSED WITH YUGOSLAV AGREEMENT. THIS IS BECAUSE, GOLOB EXPLAINED, IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSING THE QUESTION -- WHETHER A STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO CALL FOR INTERVENTION, AND WHETHER ALL KINDS OF INTERVENTION ARE GOOD OR SOME ARE TO BE CONDEMNED -- THE YUGOSLAVS SAW THE PHRASE "INTERNATIONALIST DUTY" CROPPING UP. "SUCH A FORMULATION IS UNACCEPTABLE TO YUGOSLAVIA
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AND TO THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISITS OF YUGOSLAVIA. WE DO NOT ALLOW SUCH FORMULATIONS IN DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, SO WE COULD NOT DO SO AT BELGRADE EITHER." GOLOB OBSERVED A STATE HAS A RIGHT TO ASK FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE WHENEVER IT PERCEIVES ITS INDEPENDENCE ENDANGERED. BUT YUGOSLAVIA ALSO BELIEVES THAT ANY STATE MUST REALIZE THAT RELIANCE ON ITSELF AND ON ITS OWN RESOURCES MUST BE THE FINAL ANSWER, AND "THE SOONER THE BETTER." YUGOSLAVIA IS CONVINCED THAT NO NATION CAN PRESERVE ITS INDEPENDENCE IN DEPENDENCE ON ONE OF THE GREAT POWER BLOCS.

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 5742

6. AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER ASKED WHETHER THERE WOULD BE CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF THE INTERVENTION ISSUE IN NEW YORK. HE ALSO ASKED IF RESTRUCTURING THE COORDINATING BUREAU TOO WOULD CONTINUE TO BE DISCUSSED IN NEW YORK. GOLOB REPLIED THE QUESTIONS OF CONSENSUS WITHIN THE MOVEMENT AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE WORK OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU WILL BE DISCUSSED FURTHER, IN NEW YORK IN A WORKING GROUP. YUGOSLAVIA BELIEVES MOST NAM COUNTRIES ARE DETERMINED TO FIND NEW PROCEDURES WHICH WILL PREVENT CUBA, AFTER IT BECOMES COORDINATOR, FROM "INFLUENCING THE MOVEMENT UNDULY OR IRREPARABLY." GOLOB BELIEVED THE NEW YORK DISCUSSION WILL PROBABLY SUCCEED ONLY IN DEFINING THE "TWO SIDES" POSITIONS, WHICH WILL THEN BE PLACED BEFORE THE HAVANA SUMMIT.

7. GOLOB RECALLED THAT MANY OF THE SAME ISSUES HAVE BEEN ON THE NAM AGENDA AT MEETINGS OVER THE YEARS, AND WOULD NO DOUBT APPEAR AGAIN IN HAVANA. YUGOSLAVIA EXPECTS A CONTINUING CONFIDENTIAL

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DIALOGUE OVER IDEOLOGY AND DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT, GOLOB SAID. YUGOSLAVIA SUCCEEDED IN HAVING THE TERM HEGEMONY INCLUDED AS A BALANCING ELEMENT IN THIS DOCUMENT, BU "NOTHING IS GIVEN IN ADVANCE."

8. GOLOB EMPHASIZED HOW STRONGLY YUGOSLAVIA BELIEVES THAT MUCH DEPENDS ON INTERNATIONAL EVENTS OVER THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS. IF THERE IS NO SOLUTION TO IMPORTANT ECONOMIC QUESTIONS, IF THE POLITICAL SITUATION CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE, ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA, THEN THERE WILL BE A BELLIGERENT MOOD IN HAVANA. BEFORE EVERY MEETING, ALL MEMBERS OF THE NAM FORMULATE THEIR POSITIONS ANEW. HOW THEY DO SO BEFORE HAVANA WILL DEPEND ON THE WORLD SITUATION AT THE TIME, ACCORDING TO GOLOB.

9. GOLOB SAID CONFRONTATION WITH CUBA WAS MORE PRONOUNCED AT BELGRADE THAN EVER BEFORE. "THERE WAS A PRONOUNCED INTENSITY BY THE CUBANS. YOU CAN SEE IT IN CASTRO'S MONCADO SPEECH, TOO. THEY MAKE NO BONES ABOUT THEIR INTENTION OF BUILDING SOCIALISM." GOLOB SMILED AND ADDED, "NO, BELGRADE WAS NOT A ROSE GARDEN."

10. GOLOB NOTED THAT MANY MODERATE STATES -- HE CALLED THEM "NON-RADICALS," OR "CONSTRUCTIVISTS" -- HAD BEEN MORE ACTIVE AT BELGRADE THAN AT PREVIOUS NAM MEETINGS. BUT THE

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"CENTER," GOLOB SAID, IS STILL INSUFFICIENTLY ACTIVE AND
"COULD DO MORE" AT HAVANA.

11. GOLOB ALSO NOTED THAT THE LANGUAGE ON KOREA HAD BEEN "NOT SO SHARP." AMBASSADOR ENGLEBURGER ASKED WHETHER THE KOREANS HAD COME TO THE CONGRESS IN A MOOD TO COMPROMISE, OR WHETHER COMPROMISE HAD BEEN FORCED UPON THEM. ACCORDING TO GOLOB, THE KOREAN DELEGATION HAD BEEN WILLING TO SEE MODERATE LANGUAGE IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT. PROBABLY THIS WAS BECAUSE THEY KNEW THEY THEREBY COULD REDUCE THE NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS. IN FACT, ONLY
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SAUDI ARABIA AND OMAN ARE GOING TO RESERVE ON THE KOREAN PORTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT, AND THEY ARE DOING SO BECAUSE THEY OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO NORTH KOREA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE NAM, NOT BECAUSE THEY OBJECT TO SPECIFIC LANGUAGE, GOLOB SAID.

12. GOLOB ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF STATES UN-DECIDED ON WHETHER TO GO TO HAVANA, AND IF THEY DO GO, WHETHER TO SEND CHIEFS OF STATE. GOLOB POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT ONLY ZAIRE HAS CATEGORIALLY SAID IT WILL NOT ATTEND. HE QUESTIONED PRESS ACCOUNTS THAT THERE ARE SERIOUS DOUBTS AMONG AT LEADT THIRTY STATES. HOWEVER, YUGOSLAVIA WILL "DO ITS HOMEWORK," AND MOST STATES WILL DECIDE TO SEND STRONG DELEGATIONS TO HAVANA.

13. ON NAMIBIA, GOLOB SEEMED SKEPTICAL THE SETTLEMENT WOULD TAKE EFFECT. ABOUT WALVIS BAY, GOLOB SAID IF IT IS NOT RETURNED PROMPTLY TO NAMIBIA THIS WILL BE A LONG TERM PROBLEM AND "YOU MIGHT EVEN SEE SOMEONE ELSE (E.G., THE USSR)
THERE AS A RESULT."

14. AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER OBSERVED THAT SECRETARY GOLOB MUST BE FAMILIAR WITH THE STRONG US VIEWS ON CERTAIN PORTIONS OF THE BELGRADE FINAL DECLARATION. HE COULD NOT, HOWEVER, HAVE SUCH A FRANK CONVERSATION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CONFERENCE WITH-OUT AGAIN POINTING OUT HOW OBJECTIONABLE TO THE UNITED STATES RE THE KINKAGE OF ZIONISM/RACISM, THE MIDDLE EASTERN AND THE PUERTO RICO LANGUAGE. GOLOB RESPONDED THAT HE WAS WILL BRIEFED ON WHAT AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER HAS ALREADY SAID ON THIS SUBJECT TO UNDER SECRETARY LONCAR AND OTHER YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS. HE HAD ALREADY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT YUGOSLAVIA DID NOT APPROVE SOME OF THIS LANGUAGE, BUT HE ALSO WISHED TO POINT OUT THAT DRAFTING RESPONSIBILITY PRIMARILY LIES WITH THE REGIONAL GROUPS AND "WHERE WERE YOUR FRIENDS THEN?" GOLOB AGAIN ALSO REFERRED TO THE "SOFE" LANGUAGE ON KOREA AS PROOF THAT NOT EVERYTHING IN THE DOCUMENT SHOULD BE OBJECTIONALBE TO THE UNISTED STATES.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS, NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA05742
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780322-0828
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1810289
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: YUGOSLAV ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS GOLOB ON NAM CONFERENCE
TAGS: PORG, YO, (GOLOB, IGNAC)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/85350467-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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